

Message Text

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LIMDIS

FOLLOWING SENT NEW DELHI INFO DACCA ISLAMABAD LONDON MOSCOW
PEKING TEHRAN KABUL 08 OCT 73; ALSO SENT HONG KONG 10 OCT 73:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 199743

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, IN

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION WITH INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

1. SUMMARY. SECRETARY HOSTED INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AT
WORKING LUNCHEON OCTOBER 3. OTHERS PRESENT INCLUDED
SENATOR PERCY, AMBASSADOR KAUL, MINISTERS GONSALVES
AND RAMAKRISHNA, MCCLOSKEY, SISCO AND LAINGEN FROM DEPART-
MENT AND SAUNDERS FROM NSC STAFF. EXCHANGE OF TOASTS
REFLECTED WARMTH OF
ENTIRE CONVERSATION: SECRETARY EMPHASIZING DEPTH OF HIS
CONVICTION WITH RESPECT IMPORTANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN
INDIA AND US AND NOTING US AND INDIA NOT ONLY HAD NO CON-
FLICTING INTEREST OF CONSEQUENCE BUT SHARED PARALLEL
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INTERESTS IN PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT. SINGH RESPONDED IN
SIMILAR VEIN, ADDING THAT INDIA FELT IT COULD BEST CON-
TRIBUTE TO US EFFORT TO PROMOTE WORLD PEACE THROUGH ITS
OWN EFFORT FOR PEACE IN SOUTH ASIA. EXTENDED INVITATION

TO SECRETARY TO VISIT DELHI. CONVERSATION ALSO FOCUSED ON SINO/INDIAN RELATIONS, INDIA'S CONCERNS OVER US ARMS SALES TO IRAN AND SITUATION IN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN. SECRETARY REVIEWED CURRENT LEGISLATIVE PROBLEMS BESETTING POSSIBLE RUPEE SETTLEMENT EMPHASIZING USG INTENTION CONTINUE PRESS FOR SETTLEMENT. SECRETARY ALSO CONVEYED US INTENTION PROCEED WITH DEBT RESCHEDULING AND READINESS BEGIN DISCUSSIONS IN OTHER FIELDS WHEN RUPEE SETTLEMENT ACHIEVED. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER OPENING AMENITIES, SECRETARY SAID HE HAD READ FOREIGN MINISTER'S SPEECH WITH INTEREST AND FELT THAT IT WAS CONSTRUCTIVE AND USEFUL IN TONE. FOREIGN MINISTER SINGH RESPONDED IN KIND BY SAYING HE TOO HAD READ WITH GREAT INTEREST SECRETARY'S SPEECH BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY. THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE IN WHICH BOTH EXPRESSED THEIR SATISFACTION WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE AMBASSADORS.

3. THE FM EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE US AND INDIA MIGHT COOPERATE MORE REALISTICALLY IN THE FUTURE AND ON A NUMBER OF MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. SINGH SAID THAT IN SOUTH ASIA THINGS ARE MOVING IN THE DIRECTION OF GREATER STABILITY AND TOWARD GREATER COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING. HE STRESSED ONCE AGAIN THE MUTUALITY OF INTEREST IN STABILITY AND PEACE IN SOUTH ASIA THAT EXISTS BETWEEN THE US AND INDIA.

4. SECRETARY KISSINGER RECALLED THE DIFFICULTIES OF 1971 AND POINTED OUT THAT A NUMBER OF CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS HAVE COME FROM THAT DIFFICULT PERIOD. WE HAVE BOTH COME TO REALIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID THAT INDIA IS A KEY COUNTRY IN SOUTH ASIA WITH A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE TO STABILITY AND COOPERATION. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT IN HIS JUDGMENT THE OBJECTIVE BASIS FOR GOOD RELATIONS NOW EXISTS BETWEEN THE US AND INDIA. HE THOUGHT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT WE FIND WAYS TO MAKE SURE THAT THIS GOOD BASIS COULD BE FURTHER IMPLEMENTED.

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5. FOREIGN MINISTER SINGH SAID THIS TOO WAS INDIA'S DESIRE. ITS POLICY IS ONE OF COOPERATION WITH ALL OF THE NATIONS IN THE AREA, NATIONS THAT HAVE MUCH IN COMMON IN GEOGRAPHY, COMMUNICATIONS, FOOD PROBLEMS AND THE LIKE. IF THIS AREA CAN BECOME AN AREA OF COOPERATION BASED ON SOVEREIGN EQUALITY THIS WILL BE CONDUCIVE TO BOTH PEACE AND STABILITY. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID HE WISHED TO SAY CATEGORICALLY THAT INDIA HAS NO DESIRE FOR HEGEMONY OR TO BE AN OVERLORD OVER ANY OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE AREA. INDIA IS GOING OUT OF ITS WAY TO REASSURE ITS SMALLER NEIGHBORS THAT THEY HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR FROM INDIA. INDIA'S DESIRE IS TO HELP RE-ENFORCE THEIR SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. INDIA HAS NO DESIRE TO INTERFERE IN THE IN-

TERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS. INDIA DEALS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS ON THE BASIS OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. HE DESCRIBED RELATIONS WITH INDIA'S NEIGHBORS AS EXCELLENT. HE SAID IF PAKISTAN COOPERATES WITH INDIA THEN SOUTH ASIA CAN BECOME AN AREA WHICH NEED BE OF NO CONCERN TO OUTSIDERS. HE FELT STRONGLY THAT PROBLEMS HAVE TO BE SOLVED ON THE BASIS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES;

HE GAVE CREDIT TO ALL THE PARTIES FOR THE RECENT AGREEMENT; AND HE SAID INDIA HAD DEMONSTRATED PROBLEMS COULD BE SOLVED BY MUTUAL DISCUSSION.

6. INDIA WOULD PERSEVERE WITH SIMLA PROCESS DESPITE BHUTTO'S SPEECH AT UN WHICH APPEARED TO CALL INTO QUESTION SOME ASPECTS OF DELHI SETTLEMENT SUCH AS STATUS OF 195 POW'S. BHUTTO HAD ALSO BEEN REFERRING TO "PARITY" IN MILITARY FIELD IN MANNER IN WHICH GOI FAILED TO UNDERSTAND. HOWEVER, GOI DID NOT INTEND TO MAKE ISSUE OF THESE MATTERS; INDIA WAS BOUND BY DELHI AGREEMENT AND LOOKED UPON IT AS A FORWARD STEP.

7. SECRETARY KISSINGER AGREED THAT THE SIMLA AGREEMENT WAS A MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT AND THAT THE SETTLEMENTS HAD BEEN ON A CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS. AGAIN, SINGH STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONSULTATION PROCESS, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FACT THAT THE PARTIES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SIT TOGETHER AND HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES AND NOW THE REPATRIATION OF POW'S HAS STARTED. HE SAID INDIA CONFIDENTIAL

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HAD NEVER GIVEN BHUTTO THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS NEGOTIATING ON THE BASIS OF A PAKISTANI MILITARY DEFEAT DURING THE WAR.

8. SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID OUR ONLY INTEREST IN SOUTH ASIA WAS PEACE AND STABILITY. WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN SUPPORTING ONE SIDE AGAINST ANOTHER. HE NOTED THAT BOTH PAKISTAN AND IRAN SEEM CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND ASKED SINGH FOR HIS APPRECIATION OF THE SITUATION. THE SECRETARY FELT THAT THERE OUGHT NOT BE DIFFICULTIES IN THE AREA, WE HAVE NO CONFLICTING INTERESTS WITH INDIA, AND UNLESS DIFFICULTIES AROSE FROM INTERFERENCE IN AFGHANISTAN, IT OUGHT TO BE POSSIBLE FOR THE SITUATION TO REMAIN QUIET. HE STRESSED THAT IF ALL CONCERNED USED THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE SIDE OF MODERATION, ANOTHER BLOW-UP COULD BE AVOIDED IN SUCH PLACES AS PUSHTUNISTAN.

9. SECRETARY NOTED HOWEVER THAT BOTH IRANIANS AND PAKISTANIS APPEAR TO BELIEVE THAT SOVIET INFLUENCE HAD NOW INCREASED IN AFGHANISTAN AND WERE CONCERNED PARTICULARLY ABOUT VOLATILE NATURE OF SOVIET-TRAINED OFFICERS

INVOLVED. US CONTACTS SO FAR WITH NEW LEADERSHIP WERE LIMITED SO THAT US WOULD VERY MUCH APPRECIATE HEARING INDIA'S IMPRESSION AFTER VISIT TO KABUL WHICH SWARAN SINGH INDICATED HE WOULD BE MAKING OCTOBER 19-20.

10. SINGH RECOUNTED HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE SHAH. SINGH HAD ASKED THE SHAH IF IT WAS THE IRANIAN POSITION THAT NO MATTER WHO THE AGGRESSOR IS IRAN WOULD SIDE WITH PAKISTAN. ACCORDING TO SINGH THE SHAH'S ANSWER WAS HE HAD GIVEN NO SUCH BLANKET COMMITMENT. HE SAID THAT IF PAKISTAN WERE AGGRESSED AGAINST, HE WOULD TRY TO GIVE IT SUPPORT. MOREOVER IF PAKISTAN FORCES DISINTEGRATED IN THE BORDER SITUATION (BALUCHISTAN AND THE FRONTIER ZONE), HE WOULD SUPPORT PAKISTAN. SINGH SAID THAT IT IS INDIA'S VIEW THAT THESE ARE INTERNAL PAKISTAN MATTERS AND INDIA HAS NO INTENTION OF INTERFERING. SINGH SAID THAT THE SHAH INDICATED HIS INTEREST IN THE SITUATION IN
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BALUCHISTAN SAYING THAT IF THINGS WENT WRONG, THERE WOULD BE REPERCUSSIONS IN PUSHTUNISTAN. SINGH SAID HE EXPLAINED TO THE SHAH INDIA'S POLICY WHICH IS NOT TO SUPPORT ANY SUBVERSIVE MOVE. SINGH ALSO CONFIRMED THAT THE SHAH SAID THAT BEFORE IRAN WOULD TRANSFER ANY WEAPONS OR DECIDE UPON SOME MILITARY ACTION IN SUPPORT OF PAKISTAN HE WOULD CONSULT WITH THE INDIANS.

11. WITH RESPECT GENERAL AREA OF PERSIAN GULF SINGH SAID GOI FELT STRONGLY THAT US INTERESTS AND APPROACH WERE IN NO WAY CONTRADICTORY OR DIFFERENT FROM INDIAN INTERESTS. NONETHELESS SINGH INDICATED ALONG FAMILIAR LINES INDIAN CONCERN OVER SHAH'S ARMS BUILDUP AND WONDERED WHAT PURPOSE OF ALL THIS WAS. SECRETARY SAID AGAIN HE WOULD WANT TO BE FRANK (HE HAD ONLY BEEN ON THE JOB A WEEK AND MIGHT BE A BETTER DIPLOMAT LATER) AND POINT OUT THAT SHAH WAS OBVIOUSLY UNCERTAIN ABOUT INDIA'S INTENTION TOWARD PAKISTAN. SISCO INTERJECTED THAT SHAH CLEARLY VIEWS WITH SOME CONCERN SOVIET POSITION IN BOTH INDIA AND IRAQ AND NOW ALSO IN AFGHANISTAN FOLLOWING COUP THERE. SECRETARY SAID THAT TO THE EXTENT THAT IRAN IS REASSURED BY INDIA OF ITS INTENTIONS TOWARD PAKISTAN, THEN THE LIKELIHOOD OF ANY TRANSFER OF ARMS BY THE SHAH WOULD BE GREATLY REDUCED. HE NOTED ALSO IN THIS CONNECTION THAT WITH RESPECT TO US EQUIPMENT INVOLVED THERE WERE LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS THAT PRECLUDED THEIR TRANSFER. OBVIOUSLY, US HAD NO CONTROL OVER NON-US ARMS. SENATOR PERCY INTERJECTED CONCURRENCE WITH THESE VIEWS.

12. SINGH OBSERVED THAT IN INDIAN VIEW THE GROWING INTEREST OF ARAB STATES IN GULF AND ELSEWHERE TO ACQUIRE SOPHISTICATED ARMS COULD CAUSE NEW TENSIONS IN AREA AS A WHOLE SINCE IT RAISED POSSIBILITY OF OUTSIDE POWERS BECOMING INVOLVED. THEREFORE SINGH SAID HE WOULD LIKE

TO SUGGEST SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCES OF ARMS PURCHASES, OBSERVING THAT A MODERATION IN THE QUANTUM OF ARMS PROVIDED BY US TO IRAN MIGHT HELP REDUCE

THEIR SPREAD.

13. WITH RESPECT TO CHINA, SECRETARY NOTED HIS IMPRESSION THAT SINO/INDIA RELATIONS IMPROVING. SINGH SAID HE WISHED HE COULD GO THAT FAR; HOWEVER, THEY WERE NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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DETERIORATING AND THAT WAS GOOD. THERE HAD NOT BEEN A SINGLE CASE OF RECKLESS FIRING ON BORDER SINCE 1967. WHEN SINGH ASKED FOR SECRETARY'S ASSESSMENT, LATTER SAID HE WISHED TO BE ENTIRELY FRANK; PRC CLEARLY CONTINUED TO SEE INDIA AS EXTENSION OF SOVIET POLICY IN CONTEXT OF A SOVIET EFFORT AT CONTAINMENT. CHINESE VIEW AUGUST 1971 SOVIET/INDIAN TREATY AS EQUIVALENT OF ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIP. PRC THEREFORE CONTINUED TO BE EXTREMELY SUSPICIOUS.

14. SINGH DID NOT DISPUTE THIS VIEW BUT INDICATED INDIA FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW FACT THAT NO FRIENDSHIP TREATY EXISTED BETWEEN SOVIETS AND INDIANS DURING 1962-71 PERIOD WHEN CHINESE ATTITUDE JUST AS UNHELPFUL. SECRETARY NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT CHINESE ALSO HAVE MAJOR DISAGREEMENT WITH INDIANS OVER MANNER IN WHICH BORDER NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONDUCTED BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IN 1960'S. SINGH SUMMED UP INDIAN ATTITUDE BY SAYING GOI WAS RELAXED AND WOULD AVOID IRRITATION BUT WAS NOT GOING TO BE BROWBEATEN IN PROCESS OF IMPROVING RELATIONSHIP.

15. SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THAT SO FAR AS USG WAS CONCERNED, IT TAKES ALL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO IT TO WELCOME GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA. HE RECALLED THAT

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